Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support. 181 562 [581] 477 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree. 181 562